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HOPE IN THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

It was not by accident or courtesy that China was asked to open the work of the Conference dealing with the Far East. It was because in her future is bound up the political future of the Far East; and therefore, unless the Washington Conference can take off enough of the bonds from China in accordance with the second of the so-called Root resolutions, to give her

an opportunity to develop for herself stable institutions; unless they can take the troops out of China; unless they can give her some greater degree of security and of financial autonomy, and thus enable her to become a strong, prosperous, central state, the Conference will certainly fail to achieve its purpose. If China is given that opportunity, I feel confident that she can, by her own effort, bring about this desired condition.

China and Her Reconstruction¹

By ADMIRAL TSAI

Member of the Chinese Delegation to the Conference on Limitation of Armament,
Washington, 1921

DR. SZE has given you a dinner, and Dr. Rowe evidently has asked me to give you a pinch of salt or a drop of sugar. You have just been told by Dr. Sze about conditions in China and I wish to speak a few words about the difficulties of the North and the South in China. But I do not wish you to understand it in the sense of 1861 and 1865. We have a North and South problem, but it is a little different. The difference between the North and the South in China is a difference between politicians in regard to the constitution; and whenever the two parties have not agreed, that party which was not the recognized government has bolted down to Canton. Now suppose Mr. Wilson had been defeated in the election, and that he would go to Florida and say, "I left Washington, licked. I will do a little on my own in Florida."

If you sent five hundred dollars from Pekin to Canton, through the post

¹This paper was written before the Disarmament Conference had completed its work.
C. L. K.

office or any other way, you would get it. If anybody in Canton sent to me in Pekin a basket of bananas, I would get it in Pekin. Out of the ninety-five members of the delegation that came with me, seventy-four were from the southern provinces yet they were all commissioned by the northern or recognized government. The so-called North and South question is simply that one government functions in the North and the other so-called government functions in the South; and it has nothing to do with the people. The people are entirely united. Although we have been fighting for several years, you never heard of the northern portion of the Chinese fleet's going to the south to blockade any southern ports. Nor have you heard of the southern squadron's coming to the northern waters to besiege. You have never heard a gun fired. It is all on ink and paper. Ladies and gentlemen, I do acknowledge that we are having a civil war, but a very "civil" war.

RECONSTRUCTION, NOT DESTRUCTION

You are very much interested in China, and sometimes in your anxiety for us, you say, "Why don't you hurry up and hustle the way we do." You are giants of a different type and we have to run when you are walking. You think we are not progressing, but we are. In 1881 when I returned to China from the United States where I had been a student, they thought I was a Bolshevik; but now I am a conservative and am relegated to the background. And I think they would have scrapped me if it had not been for the fact that I have been in the United States and that to some extent I understand the Americans. That is why I am here to represent China at the Washington Conference.

You want us to go ahead, but when we are scrapping,—I am going to use that word all the time—when we are scrapping institutions of several thousand years, in the pulling down you must expect timbers flying and bricks falling and dust raising. And we hope that you will have patience with us. This is reconstruction and not destruction.

Some people are very interested and claim the virtue of protecting us—not in the way Americans are trying to protect us, but in the way the wolf is protecting the lamb or the fox is protecting the goose. I will not say who. When I am in a dilemma, I always speak in parables. So, he that hath ears, let him hear.

You say, "Oh, China is in an awful condition. She cannot rule herself." Yes, I have noticed that. We have been ruling ourselves for four thousand years without outside help and it is just because we have been having foreign intercourse for about a century that we are about to fall. It is pitiable to think of it! Without support, we

have stood for four thousand years—with support, we are falling.

The most dangerous element now are the militarists, but they are being gradually eliminated. Public opinion is intensely strong and since the time of 1894 until now, there has been a gradual working-up of public opinion in China. Indeed, in the last ten years the public opinion demonstrated by students has been overwhelmingly strong, and men like Chang Hsun Tim, like Lung Kwang, Lu Yung-ting and many others (as I name them to you they seem meaningless, but they were governor-generals of the Yangtse province and the Kwang-tung and Kwang Hsi provinces), all have been eliminated by this public opinion of 400,000,000, and have withered like autumn leaves. Thus, in that way, public opinion, by passive resistance, brings down the militarists.

AMERICA'S FRIENDSHIP—PAST AND PRESENT

The reason that you have such a great interest in China, and that China has such a deep friendship for you has a historical foundation. I do not tell you that in platitude but, if you will let me, I will sum up that foundation in a few names. Some of them are Mr. Burlingame, down to Mr. Cushing, on to Mr. Congor, to Colonel Dearby, down to Mr. Rockhill, to Mr. Calhoun, to Mr. Crane and now to Dr. Schurman—these, every one of them, have left without instructions from your State Department as to what to do or what exact policy to adopt, but, invariably, whether they have been men from the north or from the south, from the east or from the west, whether they have been Democrats or Republicans, they have had three main ideas to guide and direct their policy in China, and these are: sympathy, friendship and helpfulness.

Such sentiments have characterized the work that has been done by your government and through your diplomatic agents in China.

The Chinese students in the United States are living evidences that the wise use of the Chinese indemnity you returned is linking year by year a closer tie between the two nations. Chinese students and Chinese girls come in here and associate with your young men and with your young ladies and knit together a friendship that cannot be separated even by death; because when they grow up and they have children, those traditions will be carried on from generation to generation and for thousands of years to come.

Then, during the Boxer Movement, your General Chaffee in command there remonstrated with the Germans for looting our astronomical instruments and, by a mysterious fate, these instruments were returned to Peking and are set up now on the walls in the original places from which they were taken. If you happen to be in China and if I should know, ask me to be

your guide and I shall be glad to show you these ancient things.

Again, you invited us to the Disarmament Conference in this country. No other nation would have invited a weak power, in a military sense, like China to come; but you have brought her to restore to her what you think is her due. And you have got the powers cornered. You have asked the members who come here, "To whom does this belong?" and the owner says, "To me"; and again you ask, "To whom does this belong?" and the owner says, "To me"; and in some things the owner has been willing to pay. But, ladies and gentlemen, imagine the other party saying, "We want to be friends of China. We want to get a fifty per cent share of the interest. You can't pay it back." That is a beautiful theory of friendship, which I cannot understand.

Years ago your immortal Lincoln adjusted the color line between the white and the black; and now your enlightened government is adjusting the color line between the yellow and the yellow.

The Future of Chinese Democracy

By DR. SAO-KE ALFRED SZE

Chinese Minister to the United States

TO some Western observers the Republic of China seems to be still tossed in an unceasing storm. To them, the temporary presence of the militarists and the small differences between Canton and the central government appear to be symptoms of some greater evil that is to come. Some doubt whether the Chinese people have the real capacity for self-government and whether China is, after all, qualified to enjoy the blessings of de-

mocracy; others attribute the present seeming unrest and turmoil to the corruption of officialdom and advocate foreign supervision as a panacea; a few would try to indoctrinate our countrymen with Bolshevik ideas and point to them as a remedy; still others think that the trouble with China is the lack of a strong central government and that all will be well if this is established; and still others maintain that what China needs at present is